



LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

76th Year

28 OCTOBER 1977

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TLS

THE TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

FRIDAY • 4 NOVEMBER 1977 • No 3,945 • 25p

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to stereo
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by Michael Carver

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The education of
Reynolds Stone

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Cities and traffic

The poetry of W. S. Graham

Rubens in Italy;
Van Gogh in Paris



Illustrations by Reynolds Stone for Saint Thomas Aquinas (Limited Editions Club, 1949) and, below, for Swinburne's poem, *Lucretia Borgia* (Golden Cockerel Press, 1942). See page 1297.

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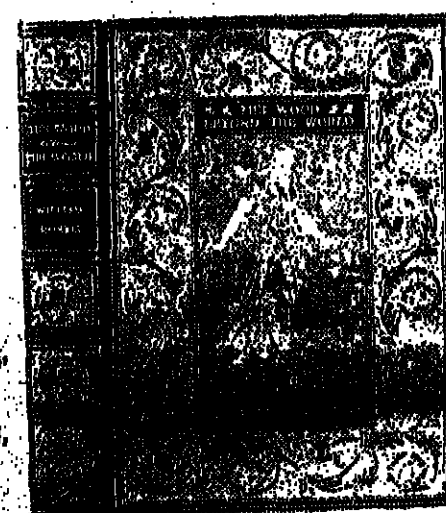
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The virile backlash

By Bernard Crick

STEVEN GOLDBERG:

The Inevitability of Patriarchy
224pp. Maurice Temple Smith.
£6.95.

More than a hundred years ago John Stuart Mill wrote in *The Subjection of Women*:

"The moral regeneration of mankind will only really commence when the most fundamental of social relations is placed under the rule of equal justice, and when human beings learn to cultivate their strongest sympathy with an equal in rights and cultivation."

Mill presumably chose his words carefully. If he had meant "literal equality," he would not have written "equal justice"; and if he had meant biologically equal or physiologically equal, he would not have said "equal in rights and cultivation."

Steven Goldberg, however, accuses even Mill of ignoring nature and of being an emotional environmentalist. His book is a strong and cleverly prepared male counterblast in the name of science in the Great American Literary Sex War (though served to us, four years after the American version, somewhat *rechauffé*). The genre is popular biology, but the inflections are those of moral philosophy and deserve, however crude they may be, to be considered as such.

Professor Goldberg believes that he is being purely scientific and objective. He plays, as Twain once remarked, "with the cool, calm confidence of a Christian with five acres" though in this case without prior agreement as to whether acres count or how.

He attacks those who "explain the sexually differentiated behaviours and institutions... in primarily environmental terms and deny the central importance of sexual psychophysiological differences." He summarizes his positive argument:

"The hypothesis at the core of this theory presented here simply states that there are neuroendocrinological differences between men and women that engender different male and female responses to the environment and, therefore, different male and female behaviour, and that these differences set limits on, and give direction to, the social institutions whose explanation is the purpose of this book without exception."

"Set limits on" is unobjectionable and both his biological and anthropological evidence is relevant to that point, but even so, to specify the limits universally is a rash and probably impossible enterprise—except at a very high level of abstraction.

However, he also sees these

neuroendocrinological factors as "giving direction to" a quite specific, universal human institution: patriarchal government. All known societies, he claims, show a statistically predominant of males in the "ruling hierarchies." Well, yes perhaps—or so what? It all depends what one means by "patriarchy" and by "hierarchy." Let a biologist use those terms to criticize, as he does well, silly *a priori* theories about possible past or future matriarchies put forward by our more enraged sisters; but then all effective political argument (including the feminist case) would be about significant modifications within these very wide outer limits. There has possibly always been and always will be some form of patriarchy; and some form of hierarchy too probably. But, as we will see, Professor Goldberg makes very specific political inferences from both terms without further justification.

He claims, of course, in the tradition of social biology, to be purely scientific. "No scientific analysis of empirical relationships can ever entail a social policy (i.e., what it should entail, what *should* be). And further guards himself: "No scientific argument can be refuted on the basis of the uses to which it is put." He rashly puts his head on the block: "What society *should* do is a question that cannot be answered on scientific grounds and that I do not concern myself with here."

And then he chops it off himself: "We could reduce the extent to which male dominance tendency is manifested in American society to the minimum... if we were willing to give up science, industrialization, hospitals, and other advances for which extensive hierarchy is a necessary condition." Again and again, indeed: "It seems likely... that if women shared equally in power at each level of the bureaucracy, chaos would result. Male dominance tendency would soon manifest itself in one or another of the following ways: either moving quickly up the hierarchy or refusing to acknowledge female authority." And he has the gall to tell us in his penultimate page that he has presented the evidence in the case without depending on my own feelings and attitudes.

What lies behind all this finally emerges when he asks the social scientist's question. If, indeed, so much of the feminist case has been presented with wild illegitimacy, why? What is it symptomatic of? Then comes a very familiar answer indeed: "The failure of contemporary American society to inculcate in its members the feeling that its value system, its way of defining reality, is correct and meaningful." In all respects? Is there anywhere such total integration of values and social systems? A good many questions are begged.

Should values never change? Do values never change? Can "failure to inculcate" logically explain

"desire to change"? Finally he reveals his adherence to an even more arbitrary and odd, if very familiar, sociological theory: "When a society loses its ability to inculcate values its members fall into the abyss" (what I call technically "secular catastrophic nihilism"). Like Thurber's grandmother and the teeling electric, he cries "the ideological glue is melting and all will collapse" if we don't preserve the American way of life and male dominance. To ponder, on the contrary, how many societies continue to thrive despite differences of basic values might help him control some of Goldberg's nightmares.

The objection to such books is not that they make value judgments but that they pretend to scientific objectivity, not that they popularize issues but that they make people think that such issues can be decided by knowing more facts or by experts, rather than by facing genuine moral dilemmas and social alternatives in the light of scientific evidence. Science can tell us that specified social policies are impossible, or are difficult to attain without extraordinary cost; but it cannot tell us that contemporary

American society is a "failure" if it is not able to inculcate its value system. It locks and barrels into the next generation.

Professor Goldberg may, in terms of his definitions, prove the virtual impossibility of patriarchy, but then, even on his own terms, the relevant issue becomes "what kind of patriarchy" (if everything is patriarchy); and on that he has nothing to say, except his implied endorsement of the whole American (universal?) way.

To talk of values is necessarily to be involved in the relativities and cross-pressures of moral philosophy. If men are naturally dominant, should we compensate for this or simply make the roles in which, perhaps, such dominance is needed, less prestigious? Nowhere does he inquire how much male dominance is self-ascribed and self-supporting. Indeed, if one wanted to make a biological argument, I would have thought that the negative case for the relative disadvantage of women because of child-bearing was far stronger than his "neuroendocrinological" based speculations about male dominance. To ask either of

the above questions involves judgments of what might be, which cannot be consistent with facts, but cannot be settled by facts.

Benjamin Barber was right to classify Steven Goldberg as simply a "defender of the status quo"—in his *Liberating Feminism*, a far more interesting polemic of last year.

One has sympathy when one considers the level of much of the argument with which Professor Goldberg is contending. But the only lasting value of replies of this kind will be to furnish manuals on clear thinking with good examples of the naturalistic fallacy: "I shall suggest that patriarchy, while perhaps unfair to the woman who is an exception, is a strong dominance tendency, is ultimately fair in that the sex with the stronger tendency towards dominance dominates." QED. If this is his idea of "fair," he should settle down very slowly with John Rawls's *Justice as Fairness* and see what such a theory would require of such a society. There he will find a demonstrated that the very need for fairness arises because of the inequalities, and that every inequality needs justification. All forms of dominance need justification and no justification is simply a genetic account of the origins of dominance.

And of course women, prevented from acquiring knowledge of their own physiology, contented as a rule to what was expected of them—until the end of the century, that is, when men became increasingly uneasy as, along with the erosion of British power and economic pre-eminence, women began to assert their rights to new freedoms—contraception, suffrage, control of property. Mr Harrison is acute on the ways in which the movement towards greater sexual equality was reflected in painting, and his analysis of the voyeuristic element in the work of Frederick Leighton (born 1830) and Wilson Steer (born 1860) is admirably lucid.

It has become fashionable nowadays to accuse the Victorian middle class of conscious sexual hypocrisy, but Mr Harrison is so sure that this new class and more correctly be understood as a symptom of the profound sexual ambivalence in which that class was reared and from which it was psychologically impossible to escape. It seems to me that this appraisal is valuable, and that the Victorian middle class may be considered as much a victim of sexual ignorance, perhaps more so, than the working class.

The bulk of this book is devoted to the middle class, and Mr Harrison's accounts of working-class sexuality and prostitution are both much shorter and less original than his account of the middle class. The book is reserved for that monster of Victorian erotica, *My Secret Life*, which he seems to have read neither in the eleven-volume original edition (of which, as he tells us, there are only three left in the world) nor in the unexpurgated Grove Press edition of 1966, are disappointingly under-researched. Mr Harrison takes the by now familiar view that the anonymous author of *My Secret Life* is to be identified with Walter Pater's first-person narrator, and that the work is history rather than fiction. But there is considerable evidence, in the text of the work, of a fictional character, and it is safe to assume that despite the title, the book is a work of fiction.

The psychological sources of the middle-class Victorian fear of sexuality is not one of the aspects of the subject singled out for close investigation by Mr Harrison, nor does he consider the influence upon their behaviour of current religious notions concerning sexual morality. However, for this reason, the book is a valuable contribution to the study of middle-class sexuality which has attracted his attention. Mr Harrison shows a commendable knowledge of his subject. He is especially good on the subject of the "hysterical conversion" of middle-class women, and on the changes that took place gradually in that alliance from the mid-nineteenth century onwards.

In such a capital-dominated society, it was essential that women should be denied sexuality. The principal function of those in the House, whose property of course accrued to her, husband or marriage, was to provide male heirs to whom the father's accumulated capital could pass thereby preserving the patriarchal family. As Mr Harrison notes, the Victorian was essentially repressive in character, a denial of female sexuality disguised as "purity," respect for

Tension and taboo

By Peter Redgrove and Penelope Shuttle

JANICE DELANEY, MARY JANE LUFTON and EMILY TOTI:

The Curse
A Cultural History of Menstruation
262pp. New York: New American Library. \$1.95.

Until last year there were no books at all about the cultural history or mental geography of menstruation, either in Britain or the United States. Katharina Dalton's excellent little Pelican *The Menstrual Cycle* (1969) gave impressive warnings about the power of menstruation as an illness, and its apparent social effects, but its information was chiefly physiological and medical. Even the feminists kept quiet about menstruation, as though it were a foregone conclusion that "the curse" was nasty, messy and at least inconvenient, and though there had been journalistic flare-ups from the masculinist side about how there should never be a woman President of the United States because she might press the red button in a hormonal fit, there had been no approach to systematic knowledge. There is not only an astonishing gap in the literature of ordinary people, but the subject is also almost totally neglected so far as scientific, medical or psychological books are concerned.

So in effect *The Curse* breaks new ground. The effect of reading it is paradoxical, since the writing is dry, hard and unimaginative, and there is a slight air of library abstracts, scissored and pasted onto its organization—yet the subject

Flossie rides again

By Maurice Richardson

EMMA JANE CRAMPTON:

Letters to Emma Jane
Notes by William Donaldson
Preface by Kenneth Tynan
94pp. Eyre Methuen. £2.50.

This is some sort of "permissive" spoof, rhy, or joke. It has odd traditional affinities. According to Kenneth Tynan, "Emma Jane is the pseudonym of a charming young girl whom I met through her protector, the equally charming though far less pseudonymous William Donaldson." [sic] had recently written a book called *The Ladies and The Gentlemen* about his experiences as a ponce, and I had been good enough to describe it in print as worthy of comparison with the best of Waugh.

The book consists of Emma's letters to her correspondents, which are obviously vamped up. Some profess to be from real people, Lord Godman, Richard Ingram, Marjorie Proops; most of these are carefully disavowed in the notes. Whoever composed the replies, whether Emma or a protector, their tone, making allowances for a lapse of three centuries of a century, reminds one of the letters from high-class girls which used to be featured in the *Pink Panther* magazine. The collected volume *Gals' Gossip* (1902) by Arthur M. Blincoe, whose pseudonym was "Plicker," Maude is writing from her flat in Half Moon Street to her cousin Madge:

"You ask very kindly after Urelin. I am afraid, poor girl, who is in very bad way. She has discharged her cure from the private 'pay' hospital after she had coughed down three sixteen and sixpenny iron boudoirs, but she has developed bad symptoms since she has been at Ventnor. Every time she sneezes she fills her boots with sand, and she is greatly afraid she is going to 'chuck' in her knife and fork." As Charles says, it is very dreadful. When she looks back and recalls the time she was at Ventnor, she says, 'I am sure I shall never again be so ill.' But these are gubbies, and do not invalidate Mr. Harrison's excellent central section on middle-class sexuality which, as Mr Harrison notes, is a far more interesting polemic of last year.

But these are gubbies, and do not invalidate Mr. Harrison's excellent central section on middle-class sexuality which, as Mr Harrison notes, is a far more interesting polemic of last year.

matter is so rich and interesting, and so germane to so many people's lives, that *The Curse* hardly feels like a manner clearing of a much better book. It is also a bit silly, since it is silent about areas of knowledge it has not gone into, and should really be read in conjunction with the other book on menstruation, by Paula Weidinger, *Menstruation and Menopause*, also published in the United States last year, and decidedly more scientific and quite-headed. *The Curse* is also quite anti-man, which may recommend it in some quarters, but which in fact damages its case, since the menstrual taboo, which the book is concerned to expound and dissolve, is thereby hardened. The attitude is that it is all man's fault, and so there is little hope possible with the poor benighted, inhibited opposite sex, who do not menstruate. This raises a non-menstruating prejudice, besides making the subject even more difficult to talk about. Both sexes experience menstruation, though one only indirectly.

It is habit of mind and social taboo that make us recoil from the lore, custom and curious fact that surround menstruation. More seriously, we recoil from the inner realities of the process, perhaps by more than half the human population, and so far as systematic knowledge is concerned, it is an invisible subject. Fear, contempt and superstition have hitherto been the result of these voidances, and Janice Delaney, Mary Jane Lufton and Emily Toti are concerned to disinfest the taboo from misunderstanding and prejudice. There are chapters on taboos of exclusion from society, the cruel customs of various peoples, and the taboo on sex during the menstrual period. Rites of first menstruation

walter because 'e inadvertently brought her chocolate in a mousetrap cup.

And here is some of Emma's letter to her girlfriend Polly, nicknamed Motor Ship Polly:

"Jill Tweedie took me out to lunch at Blunich's yesterday. She's writing an article for *The Guardian* on immorality, so of course she had to come up to me sharp and for some hard information. She got me pissed as a pudding and I blew the whistle on nearly everyone, including you. I'm sorry to say. She particularly liked you, and she said you were absent-mindedly left the Minister of Arts upside-down in your wardrobe for twenty-four hours like a garlic sausage in a German delicatessen."

Last Wednesday I went with Dawn Upstairs, Black Daisies and the other girls to the cinema. Brothers and a mixed bag of pop stars and disc jockeys. When I got home the old boy was highly insulting. Then, over tea today, Dawn Upstairs tried to explain to him how much nicer women are than men. Men, we argued, had not the slightest compunction about going to bed with married women, but the majority of women will not treat with a married man, identifying strongly with the poor little wife at home. "Absolutely right," said Dawn Upstairs, and off she trotted to continue the affair she's having with a married man she met down at Annabel's last week. Occasionally a note of high seriousness is struck, perhaps by Tynan's benefit, as when Emma, subeking a correspondent who has quoted a judge at Bodmin Crown Court about the effect of pornography on crime, quotes back Professor Ivor Mills of Cambridge.

There is a certain amount of porn in the letters. Most of it comes from the correspondents. Emma mainly limits herself to jokes, some of them quite funny. Here again the traditional affinity appears. The vocabulary, the exaggerated response to stimuli, the profusion of secretions, remind me of the first volume of pornography I ever read. It was called *Flossie, the Venus of Fifteen*. It was handed to me after lunch in Ouslow Square by the late, brilliant, commanding, wild, that Archie Lyle, whose mother, Dame Delicate, was a famous actress. I was upper lip, although I never, man of the London Public Morality quite thought she was justified. "Cough!" I wish I could lay hands on her now. I might do a deal better to take a seat at a foreign table with Tynan for the film rights.

are touched on, and there is a good section on modern menstrual hygiene. Psychoanalytical practices and neglect is lightly sketched, and the problem of the premenstrual syndrome—"the storm before the calm"—is given a short chapter. Jokes, euphemisms, advertising, and new public attitudes that are emerging are featured, and there are tantalizing glimpses of a criticism that does not avoid certain self-evident menstrual themes in literature. A brief section at the end speaks of "lifting the curse": women should display and explore their menstrual dimension, and they should be aware of the long history of repression and manipulation by taboo. The new generation of women artists will make their contribution by giving us emblems and symbols of what every woman experiences.

This is excellent, so far as it goes, and long needed. A better book would have explored each subject more thoroughly, would have had more interest in the implications of what is said. Each chapter is for too short. One is left wishing for more. It is argued, for example, that "one of the acknowledged symptoms of PMS [premenstrual syndrome] is a sharp increase in drive and energy. Some women enjoy this drive and energy; they find it creative." The suggestion is that some part at least of the almost universally experienced menstrual distress may be repressed ability. This is wonderful news, if true. But *The Curse* more than points in this direction.

Again we are told that the period may be a powerful sexual experience for a woman, and thus an asset in her relationship. Commonly destroyed by conventional taboo revulsion, usually on the man's part. This is a dimension of "menstrual joy" worth exploring, one would have thought. Yet the authors go on to say that "menstrual attraction" which gets the period over in a few minutes by sucking the womb contents out with cannula and syringe—is "by far the most exciting discovery in the women's health movement." This deletion of a process of disgusting horror, commonly been hinted about its possible new dimensions.

The Curse is a cultural history of menstruation, not the history. It is, alas, too sketchy, and leaves too much out. There is nothing on menstrual asynchrony, in which association of women are said to menstruate in pulse together with its historical implications for early cultures. Modern work on menstrual control and synchrony by Martha McClintock, Ed M. Deway, Louise S. and others, is not mentioned, though in its early stages, lies up in a fascinating manner with early menstrual practices, but is not mentioned. The provocative Gerald Messey, almost overwhelmingly abundant with the most original suggestions about menstruation, is missing. Only one of C. D. Daly's splendid papers is mentioned, and that the gloomiest. Menstruation plays an important part in Tynan's culture, but this is not apparent from apart from these authors. *The Curse* clearly does not follow through. It is suggested that both the legends of the Flood and of Adam and Eve have to do with menstruation; but, by the same token, what about the redeeming blood of Christ? It was a notable gnostic heresy that the Saviour was female, and her blood drunk as a sacrament. Or is this too explosive an idea for the paperback market?

The biggest omission of all is that if menstruation so powerfully affects people who are not menstruating, what influence is there on our childhood? Mothers usually begin their cycles shortly after weaning. But *The Curse* should not be blamed for leaving this out. It is an idea that has been evoked by all twentieth-century psychologists, probably for the reason that their neglect of the psychology of the menstrual function leaves women slunk by it, and thus its potential also slunk. The connection with the invisible game with more feminist knowledge, this would not happen. But the investigations will have to employ both compassion and imagination. Anything less is destructive. George Devereux's paper on Molay's Indian puberty is dragged but not quoted in *The Curse*. His comments on the universality and rigidity of menstrual customs by saying: "If you do not bother to tie up a puppy with a steel collar."

With eyes averted

By Ian Gibson

FRASER HARRISON:

The Dark Angel
Aspects of Victorian Sexuality
304pp. Sheldon Press. £6.50.

In his *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* Freud defined shame as "the force which opposes voyeurism"—pleasure in sexual looking and, by extension, touching—but which may be overridden by the sexual drive. In an essentially Victorian culture, where the concept of sexual repression was central, it seems that everyone is agreed that the emotion arises in an essentially visual context. Erik Erikson put it thus in *Childhood and Society*:

"Shame supposes that one is completely exposed and conscious of being looked at; in one word, self-consciousness. One is visible and not ready to be visible." He who is ashamed would like to force the world not to look at him, not to notice his exposure. He would like to destroy the eyes of the world. Instead he must wish for his own invisibility.

That the Victorians, at least the middle class, were deeply ashamed about sex there can surely be no doubt, nor that this shame revealed itself in widespread mythophobia. In *Ken and Embarrassment* Christopher Ricks analysed the Victorian preoccupation with blushing as revealed in literature, and felt able to affirm that "the hot flush of embarrassment rises with special frequency in the literature of the nineteenth century." Other sources confirm Ricks's finding. The advice columns of Victorian magazines and newspapers, for example, were continually besieged with pleas for help from blushers, and as a rule the answers cannot have provided much comfort to the sufferers. The *Family Herald's* counsel to a rubescent correspondent on July 19, 1863, may be taken as typical:

"Banish the idea that you are detected, and the blushing will subside; go into society. Ricks observed that French nineteenth-century blood was less prone to be deflected from the genital area by the face—perhaps a hysterical apprehension of conversion—than its British counterpart; and one may be tempted to interpret the haired of French literature and manners so frequently voiced in Victorian England as partially an expression of sexual anxiety."

English medical men, as Fraser Harrison reminds us in his readable book *The Dark Angel* (the "aspects" of the subtitle are middle-class sexuality, working-class sexuality, and prostitution), were scarcely freer from sexual scopophilia than the rest of society. Syncretically, he does not see the female orgasm and function of the clitoris received neither recognition nor acknowledgement (only Victorian pornography

seemed aware of their existence), women were of a "maternal" past, in 1878. Mr Harrison tells us, the *British Medical Journal* ran for six months a correspondence on whether hams could be turned back by the touch of a menstruating woman, while in 1885 a writer to *The Lancet* expressed the view that contraception was "as distasteful a subject to the medical practitioner as it would be to the most fastidious divine."

The dispassionate study of every area of male sexuality suffered similar inhibition. Victorian medicine taught that too much expenditure of sperm, whether through masturbation, wet dreams or copulation, led automatically to moral and physical bankruptcy. Emulsion, warned the doctors, was the only safe remedy for the depletion of sperm in marriage—where, for safety's sake, intercourse should not take place more than once a week and preferably but once every ten days. Again and again we catch the Victorian talking of sexual activity in terms of money. The normal expression for ejaculation in the erotic literature of the time was "to spend". Sperm, like capital, should be hoarded; depleted should be like empty deposit accounts, spell imminent disaster. Dr William Acton may be taken as the type of the Victorian doctor-moralist. Acton enjoyed an international reputation as a venerable figure. His book, *The Disordered of the Reproductive System* (examined by Steven Marcus in *The Other Victorians*) went through six editions between 1857 and 1875, a bestseller. If Acton could maintain that the continuance of a high degree of bodily vigour is inconsistent with more than a very moderate indulgence in sexual intercourse, it is in any wonder that the society to which he and his colleagues ministered was confused in its anxieties?

The psychological sources of the middle-class Victorian fear of sexuality is not one of the aspects of the subject singled out for close investigation by Mr Harrison, nor does he consider the influence upon their behaviour of current religious notions concerning sexual morality. However, for this reason, the book is a valuable contribution to the study of middle-class sexuality which has attracted his attention. Mr Harrison shows a commendable knowledge of his subject. He is especially good on the subject of the "hysterical conversion" of middle-class women, and on the changes that took place gradually in that alliance from the mid-nineteenth century onwards.

In such a capital-dominated society, it was essential that women should be denied sexuality. The principal function of those in the House, whose property of course accrued to her, husband or marriage, was to provide male heirs to whom the father's accumulated capital could pass thereby preserving the patriarchal family. As Mr Harrison notes, the Victorian was essentially repressive in character, a denial of female sexuality disguised as "purity," respect for

women's role as companion, mother and house-servant.

And of course women, prevented from acquiring knowledge of their own physiology, contented as a rule to what was expected of them—until the end of the century, that is, when men became increasingly uneasy as, along with the erosion of British power and economic pre-eminence, women began to assert their rights to new freedoms—contraception, suffrage, control of property. Mr Harrison is acute on the ways in which the movement towards greater sexual equality was reflected in painting, and his analysis of the voyeuristic element in the work of Frederick Leighton (born 1830) and Wilson Steer (born 1860) is admirably lucid.

It has become fashionable nowadays to accuse the Victorian middle class of conscious sexual hypocrisy, but Mr Harrison is so sure that this new class and more correctly be understood as a symptom of the profound sexual ambivalence in which that class was reared and from which it was psychologically impossible to escape. It seems to me that this appraisal is valuable, and that the Victorian middle class may be considered as much a victim of sexual ignorance, perhaps more so, than the working class.

The bulk of this book is devoted to the middle class, and Mr Harrison's accounts of working-class sexuality and prostitution are both much shorter and less original than his account of the middle class. The book is reserved for that monster of Victorian erotica, *My Secret Life*, which he seems to have read neither in the eleven-volume original edition (of which, as he tells us, there are only three left in the world) nor in the unexpurgated Grove Press edition of 1966, are disappointingly under-researched. Mr Harrison takes the by now familiar view that the anonymous author of *My Secret Life* is to be identified with Walter Pater's first-person narrator, and that the work is history rather than fiction. But there is considerable evidence, in the text of the work, of a fictional character, and it is safe to assume that despite the title, the book is a work of fiction.

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the above questions involves judgments of what might be, which cannot be consistent with facts, but cannot be settled by facts.

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The landscapes of Leatherstocking

By Blake Nevius

H. DANIEL PECK:
A World by Itself
The Pastoral Moment in Cooper's Fiction
213pp. Yale University Press. £9.

Some twenty years ago, as a Fulbright lecturer in a German university, I was invited to address a group of German academics (after a heavy dinner at a local restaurant) on the subject of James Fenimore Cooper. At the close of my remarks I stated, in a somewhat offhand manner, that I had found in his work a certain quality of the American mind, and to the beloved *Leatherstocking* of his boyhood reading. Nothing I had said could have moved him to such eloquence; he spoke, in fact, as if in a dream; and I reflected that such a response would be inconceivable in Cooper's native land, where the general attitude, bolstered usually by critical authority no sounder than Mark Twain's hilarious libel, is for the most part patronizing and indifferent, especially among students. There was a time, of course, when the juvenile imagination made room for *Leatherstocking* alongside Tom Sawyer and Huck Finn, but for a long time now Twain has had the corner on nostalgia and it has been generally assumed that America lost its innocence on the Mississippi, not on Lake Glimmerglass.

Meanwhile, in the upper echelons of academia a Cooper revival has been gathering strength for nearly fifty years (though without much impact on the general reader), and predictably it has responded to the general shift in critical perspective. It began in the early Depression years with, appropriately, a new interest in Cooper as a critic of society; shifted in the 1950s, under the spell of D. H. Lawrence and his quasi-sacred, especially to concern with mythological criticism (with *Leatherstocking* appearing in successive avatars as Christian knight, American Adam, Fiedler's Faust in buckskins, and even Moses); and more recently has turned its attention to postmodernism in Cooper and to the poetics of landscape. With the current preoccupation with perceptual theories, the aesthetics of landscape gardening, and the great question of ecological survival (the slaughter of the wood-pigeons in *The Pioneers* has become a *locus classicus*), students of Cooper are finally discovering what the nineteenth century always knew, that the settings of his forest romances provide, in Lawrence's words, "some of the loveliest, most glamorous pictures in all literature". On closer scrutiny, they are also discovering a persistent correlation between landscape and theme. Among the several books wholly or partly devoted to the subject, H. Daniel Peck's is the most comprehensive in scheme and argument. It is also one of the most

thoughtful and engaging studies of Cooper in recent years.

The title of Peck's book is taken from a phrase in *The Deerslayer*, but it must also be the author's way of signalling his divergence from Richard Poirier's view of Cooper in *A World Elsewhere* (1966), for he takes issue specifically with Poirier's characterization of Deerslayer, in his relation to nature, as "with another version of Emerson's poet", and generally with the attempt (by no means confined to Poirier's book) to propel Cooper into the metaphysical fraternity of Poe, Hawthorne, and Melville. Cooper, as we constantly need to be reminded, was stubbornly eighteenth-century. Clinging to his Lockean dualism, he treated experience in his fiction in secular rather than metaphysical terms. His heroes—not only *Leatherstocking* but the protagonists of his sea fiction and the lesser-known forest romances—are, in Peck's view, "distinguished by the power of observation rather than by the power of interpretation". They do not "possess" the landscape as Emerson and Thoreau do, surveying their rural Concord neighbours fields and woodlands and absorbing them into their organic vision; on the contrary, their vision is more aggressive and practical, which engages a fixed, unchanging reality and the necessity for survival in a hostile environment. The simple fact is that while Cooper was a romantic to the core, he was not a romantic in the sense that he constantly himself from the outset to the romance (prolonging his allegiance, in fact, beyond 1840, when in America the genre was being written off as exhausted); he employed a conventional and very derivative symbolism. His power, as Peck sees it, lies in his concentration on the image, which for Cooper "was capable of carrying the full weight of meaning immediately, without contradiction or ambiguity".

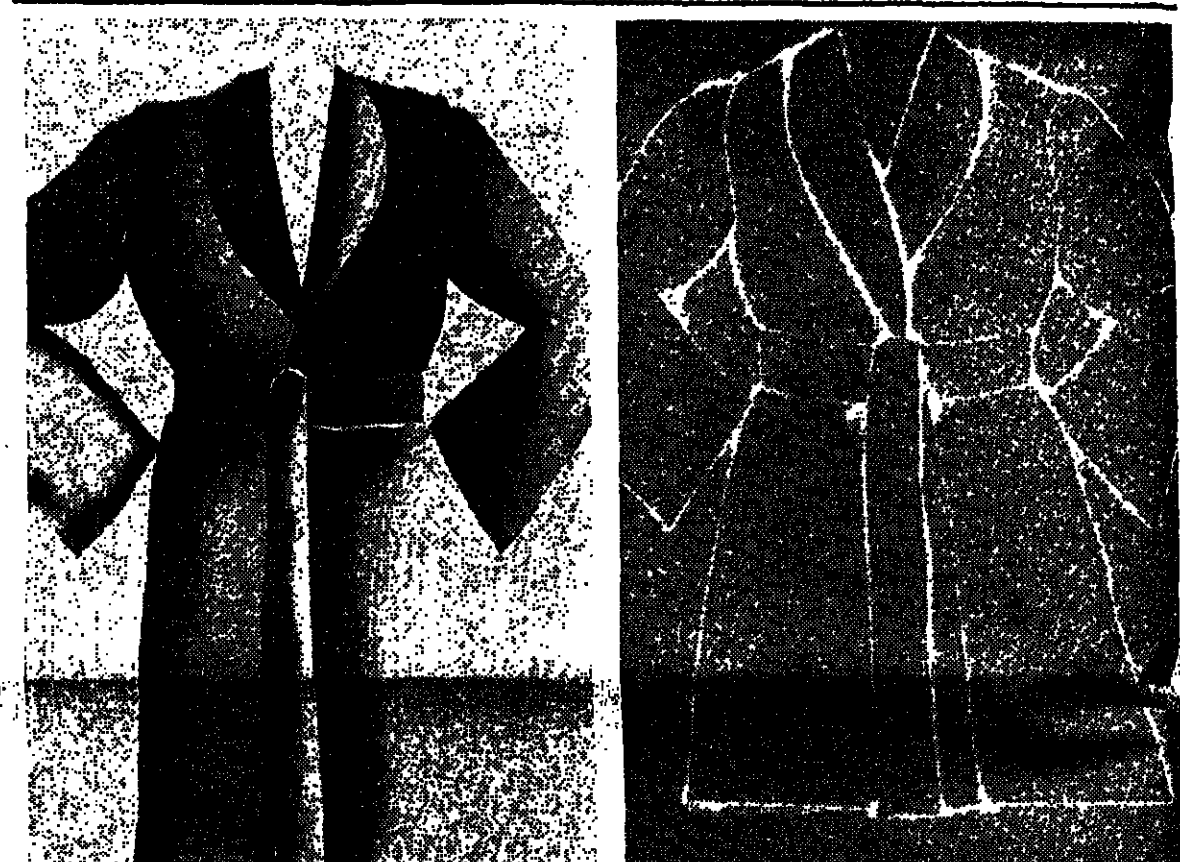
This emphasis on the power of the image in Cooper leads Peck into the search for what Gaston Bachelard calls "the preferred image," the image that controls and unifies the writer's world. It is not possible to do justice in short compass to the skilful and cautious ingenuity of Peck's tracking of his quarry, except to say that it is in the best tradition of *Leatherstocking* himself. Following Bachelard's method in *The Poetics of Space*, he seeks to establish "a true phenomenology of the space of Cooper's imaginative world." The "preferred image" he finds in the enclosed space, a space defined by ever-narrowing circumstances, beginning, as it were, with "the vault of heaven" and proceeding through a series of gradual constrictions from the forest horizon that so typically demarcates Cooper's world to the variety of glades, windrows, oak openings, and wilderness lakes that, along with an analogous succession of ancestral homes, constitute the "inside" of our rugged, moral as well as spatial, from the "outside". It may be, as Peck suggests, that "all the threatened structures in his novels are

ultimately symbolic of the threatened self," but it is characteristic of Cooper that he consciously or unconsciously avoids the deeper psychological implication of his "preferred image" by refusing to invade that most profound of self-enclosures, the psyche, just as at the polar opposite he avoids the metaphysical problem by confining his world to what lies below the vault of heaven. The "pastoral moment" of Peck's subtitle is marked by the return to some valued home or landscape of childhood—e.g. Samson's or Glimmerglass ("the center of Cooper's imaginative geography")—that is permanently fixed in time and space, or to its spiritual equivalent. While the repeated pattern of *The Adventure of Huckleberry Finn* is one of flight, from a deceptive pastoral moment that dissolves in violence toward an ever-beckoning new "territory", Cooper's pastoral, as Peck observes, "is defined by stasis"; his fictions express "not the impulse toward flight but the desire to arrive at a still point of the imagination, a place from which he will never have to leave".

I have one caveat and one major reservation. Peck has a mind of his own; his argument does not require those glancing allusions to Erikson, Frye, and Lévi-Strauss, without whose sanction no contemporary work of criticism seems confident of establishing its own claim on our attention. The insights borrowed from Bachelard are functional; these are not. There is a serious miscalculation, though, in Peck's tendency to dismiss the aesthetic categories of the Sublime, the Beautiful, and the Picturesque as "simply part of the vocabulary of the time" rather than accepting them as determinative elements in Cooper's mode of seeing. The result

is that he misinterprets as naive Cooper's repeated emphasis in his journals on the "surprise" excited in him by the first glimpse of certain landscapes, forgetting that this is a conditioned response in the quest for novelty; he accepts as critically the notion that Cooper regarded prospect views as superior to those taken from lower vantage points; and, in an ambitious and generally persuasive interpretation of *The Last of the Mohicans*, he presses those staples of Picturesque idiom, "broken", "irregular", and "interrupted", and those associated with the Beautiful, mainly "new" and "regular" (though their source in aesthetic theory he does not seem to recognize), into questionable service in promoting his thesis.

Taking it on its own terms, however, as a phenomenological study of a novelist whose work is in no way yielding unexpected resources of inquiry and pleasure, this is a fine book and one likely to lead us back to Cooper with a new awareness of the oneiric dimension of his fiction.



Two prints by Jim Dine (left, a stencil, "Self Portrait", 1970; right, a lithograph, "Black and White Bathrobe", 1975), from a new catalogue, Jim Dine—Prints: 1970-77 published by Thames and Hudson in association with Williams College Artist-in-Residence Program (134pp. £6.95). In addition to the fully illustrated catalogue raisonné, which covers all Dine's graphic work since 1969, there is a critical essay by Riva Castelman and a report by Thomas Krens of four conversations with the artist about his work.

Colonial occasions

By Dennis Wolland

CALVIN ISRAEL (Editor):
Discoveries and Considerations
Papers on Early American Literature and Aesthetics Presented to Harold Jantz
216pp. New York: State University of New York Press. \$15.

The problems of the festschrift as a literary form are well known. The occasion brings together papers linked more often by piety than by evenness of quality or homogeneity of subject matter. *Discoveries and Considerations* has a greater thematic unity than some "given" festschrifts, as usual in this context, means anything between 1620 and 1783. Nevertheless, one piece is somewhat out of key in time and subject; despite its title, John Mee's "The Theatre of the Past: Popular Entertainment in Early America" has the predominantly nineteenth-century emphasis to be expected with a form hardly known in America before that time.

The other essays deal with the colonial period, which has always presented more difficulties to the literary scholar than to the historian. The quantity of imaginative literature is small and its quality debatable; it cannot be ignored, yet it seldom excites. The four essays here collected with poetry do not wholly avoid the note of special pleading. Harold Jantz's own place is too

much of a rollcall to be as useful to a newcomer as to the specialist. Robert D. Arner argues that Anne Bradstreet's *Tenth Muse*, neglected in favour of the much-anthologized shorter domestic poems, gains in stature if studied as a whole, carefully structured volume. Thomas M. Davis and Arthur Forster offer a critique of Edward Taylor's "A Pledge for the Old Death", relating it to his putative sources, and Harrison T. Meserole discovers David Dutcher, a poet hitherto unknown whose rural experimentation is certainly interesting but whose range and originality are less impressive than those of Bradstreet and Taylor.

Historiography, one of the main literary activities of the age, inevitably features in such a collection. Cecilia Teuch finds in Edward Johnson's *Wonder-Working Providence* a "Utopian strain" that links with the millennial tradition of New England thought; there is a myth as well as a reality about the wilderness into which the Puritans believed themselves to have entered, and Johnson brings the two together with what has been called "an amazing sense of the truly epic".

Robert J. Gargewer also seeks epic qualities in what he rather grandiosely calls "the matter of Merry Mount". The equivocal figure of Thomas Morton and the "gunguon" that prompted Hawthorne's short story attracted many other writers before and since. Gargewer contrasts their accounts with Morton's own and sees them all as "inextricably from the search for a new, and independent, American identity".

If to the unsympathetic this search seems sometimes to take on a certain desperation, it receives an unexpected and rewarding twist in the last essay in this volume. In "Cooper's 'Watson and the Shark' and As the Gods Will", Roger B. Lewis explores the intrinsic merits of Lewis's well-known and dramatic oil painting with sensitivity and expertise. This enables him to relate Cooper's practice to Reynolds's *Discourses* and the aesthetic theory of the period, and to show how a interest in the Grand Style led Cooper to "Ascension", to incorporate in the "Watson" some suggestions from Raphael's "Transfiguration".

Stella analyses the two versions of Cooper's sensecape to show the great imaginative power is called to the fore. So, in all the essays, the record of the rebellion. These chroniclers from the Old Dominion gained control of their history, dismissed outsiders, and made Lee the Confederacy's premier hero. As successful image-makers the historians were amateurs compared to the fund raisers. History is cheap; marble statues and private colleges are costly. Washington College in Lexington, Virginia, was a small, undistinguished institution of higher learning. It was in danger of extinction when some shrewd and energetic men came up with a splendid scheme. (There was no South in all the essays.) They made General Lee, the president of the college and, in a severely impoverished region, squeezed an astonishing number of contributions from people who somehow thought that by giving the college money they were helping the cause. After Lee's death they gave still more money to reconstruct the chapel at the college (renamed Washington and Lee University) and place above the dead hero's name the name of the living one, a "republican" Lee. The fund raisers had created both the greater shine of the Confederacy and its saint.

Competition for the site of this shrine was provided by Richmond, where a great parade of heroic statues was erected on Monument Avenue, with Lee's the most splendid of the lot. Connelly might have looked as evidence, similar to that which he uncovered about Washington and Lee, brought to light by Jay K. B. Williams, in *Changed Views and Unforeseen Prosperity*. He showed that the impetus behind the erection of Antonin Merle's statue of Lee astride Traveller (by design, a foot larger than that of Washington downtown) was less a celebration of the past glories of the Confederate cause than a cloyingly disguised bit of promotion of present opportunities. Real estate salesman, eager in the aggressive manner of the New South of the 1880s and 1890s, encouraged the gifts for the statues in order that the images of Lee and other mounted generals would parade in advertisements of subdivisions in the outskirts of the South's holy city.

Perhaps Southerners were too emotional about the cause Lee symbolized to be sceptical about all of this, but why weren't hard-headed Yankees able to see it as a bit of Gilded Age rawdiness, Southern style? Largely because they did not want to. They too needed Lee. Connelly's reflections on the change in Northern attitudes from 1890 when Lee was, at best, called a good leader in a bad cause, to 1910 when he was a national hero, are admirable but not one reason why Lee was so useful in that role. Forty years after the war that appropriated Robert E. Lee transcended region and became just the hero needed by a nation bent on ignoring the racial injustices that flourished. An integrated political and economic life begun during Reconstruction had been snuffed out. In the twentieth century, amid reforms in other areas of the society, big farmers were held in a dependent position by relatively less stereotyping and tenancy system, lynchings were disgracefully frequent, and black and white people were separated by law in public places, like restaurants and schools. To make all of this less visible to the moral eye, it was convenient to forget that ending slavery and bettering the lot of the freedman had, somehow, been one of the goals of the Civil War.

"White Americans on the winning side needed some way of rationalizing their defeatism of the black people who were supposed to have been the beneficiaries of the Civil War, and nothing served this need better than to make a great hero of the chief warrior of the other side. By doing so one could, with a generous imagination, see the moral relativism of the day, conclude that both causes were equally honourable. It became a brothers' war—white brothers—and Robert E. Lee was the perfect older brother.

Unlike his fellow Confederate general, Nathan Bedford Forrest, who founded the Ku Klux Klan, Lee was not a racist. He was articulate on racial matters. Northerners, eager to go along with a Southern prescription of racial mores, could say that a people who could produce a man of the stature of Robert E. Lee could be trusted to know best about coloured people. White Southerners, eager to persuade themselves of the benign character of the Jim Crow world they had prescribed, convinced themselves that they were perpetuating an anachronistic paternalism, symbolized by the noble Virginian.

All of this produced a highly unreal image of the man named Robert E. Lee. His humanity was almost totally lost in idolatry. Connelly, looking (a bit too briefly) at the man revealed in his letters, is better than any other sketch for what one hopes was the real man. Far from being a serene family man of total self-confidence, Lee had been abandoned by his beloved wife, Mary, and his father, "Light-Horse Harry" Lee. Ambitiously, the son married Mary Custis, more one suspects, because of her kinship to George Washington than out of pure romance. He paid the price she was a child, and she was a woman in our time who was worth taking the trouble to get to know through history and biography. Down from his gaudy, pedestalled Robert E. Lee is a smaller, perhaps more human, figure.

The Confederacy's saint

By William S. McFeely

THOMAS L. CONNELLY:
The Marble Man
Robert E. Lee and His Image in American Society
249pp. New York: Knopf (distributed by Pantheon Ltd.) \$10.

We memorialize our heroes in curious ways. A century ago, when Americans already should have been too modern for such things, they placed an effigy of Robert E. Lee above his tomb—and the marble became more memorable than the man. Thomas Connelly has written a stimulating study of how popular images of a hero are created not only by sculptors but by other legend-makers, like historians, who exploit the need for such myths. After this examination the author turns back and studies Lee's letters to get behind the imagery. All of the images fit the real Lee poorly. His provocative essay causes us to consider what it is that we have sought to do with the heroic figures of our relatively recent past and this consideration brings into question the utility of worshipping heroes at all.

Robert E. Lee of Virginia has stood for a long time in the American pantheon next to George Washington. He was the aristocratic man of the land who heeded the call of duty, fought valiantly for a cause he thought right, lived through his days of travel long enough to be honoured by his countrymen as a symbol of moral and spiritual rectitude. Recumbent in his chapel, or in lonely majesty astride his gallant horse Traveller, he has been the American hero about whom no one dared utter an irrelevant word. For Douglas Southall Freeman, the author of the magisterial biography, R. E. Lee, the subject presented no problem. Lee was, simply, a gentleman and a great man.

Connelly examines this picture beginning with Lee at the close of the American Civil War. He does not pursue the obvious and ungenerous thought that Lee might be said not to have been a hero at all but instead was a traitor. He was, after all, an army officer in the service of his country who turned coat and fought in a rebellion that came close to bringing that country down. Instead of following that line of thought, Connelly contends that at the end of the war Lee was just one of several Confederate leaders who were in a dependent position by relative less stereotyping and tenancy system, lynchings were disgracefully frequent, and black and white people were separated by law in public places, like restaurants and schools. To make all of this less visible to the moral eye, it was convenient to forget that ending slavery and bettering the lot of the freedman had, somehow, been one of the goals of the Civil War.

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If our own is not a heroic age, let us give ourselves a little credit for the fact. Heroes are dangerous things; we are probably better off without them. If they are gone, what we are left with is a man and a woman in our time who are worth taking the trouble to get to know through history and biography. Down from his gaudy, pedestalled Robert E. Lee is a smaller, perhaps more human, figure.

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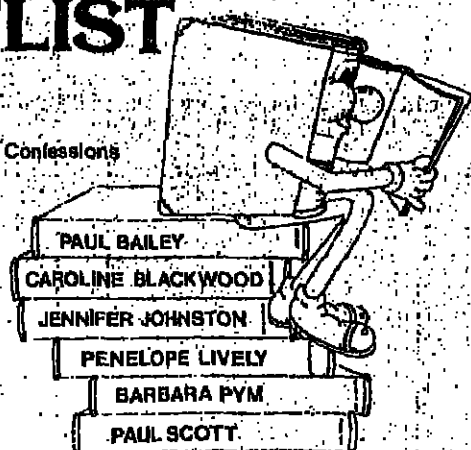
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Unjamming devices

By William Plowden

J. MICHAEL THOMSON:
Great Cities and Their Traffic
344pp. Collins, £8.95.

Urban traffic is one of the universal evils. Like blue jeans or Holiday Inns, it effectively erodes a sense of place. Any townscape tends to look like any other when seen beyond a foreground of parked or slowly moving cars. The basic attributes needed in any city, anywhere in the world, are to include a good nose for a parking space and the ability to dodge speeding taxis.

The problems have been recognized, if not understood, for years. For as many years the same non-solutions have been tried. Pompidou declared that Paris must adapt itself to the car. The process of adaptation proved to be extremely damaging, and largely ineffective. The Boulevard Périphérique—perhaps one of the most disgraceful urban roads in Europe—was jammed within ten days of its completion in 1973 and has been intermittently jammed, day and night, ever since. Meanwhile, mayors and presidents elsewhere are proudly decreeing and opening radical expressways, boulevards, and flyovers as definitive solutions to local traffic problems.

When it is proposed that shopping streets be closed to traffic, resistance from local shopkeepers is almost inevitable. So is the applause after the event; but the whole process has to be gone through next time somewhere else.

The universality of traffic congestion is depressing enough in itself. Equally depressing is what it suggests about the inability of the human race to learn from its own mistakes. The aim of J. Michael Thomson's *Great Cities and Their Traffic* is to help us to compare problems, to identify the general issues lying behind so many particular situations, and to start learning from experience. The disease really is pandemic; as one striking table shows, regardless of city size or location, for places as various as New York, London, and Tokyo, the peak rush-hour traffic tends to settle at about the same speed (16 km per hour). Mr Thomson's method is based on the excellent device of taking some thirty cities, all to some extent known to him, and contrasting their transport and traffic problems and the steps they have taken to deal with these.

These case studies are the meat of the book, sandwiched between a long introduction which sets out some of the basic principles involved, and a short summary conclusion.

The cities are grouped in five batches according to the types of strategies they have adopted. Thus London is rather unexpectedly linked with Singapore, Stockholm, Hongkong, Vienna, Bremen and Barcelona, all examples of the "traffic limitation" strategy. Neither this nor any other strategy mentioned is judged wholly successful in practice. London is, an

example of fairly successful traffic limitation. It is the primary ecological limitation to wonder what life can be like in cities where traffic is unsuccessfully limited, the answer is that it is far worse. In Lagos, for instance, one crude limitation device is to allow only cabs with even numbers to go into the centre on even dates, only odd on odd— which naturally leads the well-off to buy cars in pairs, one odd and one even. Or, much nearer home, Paris has been estimated to have 120,000 cars illegally parked any day. The last three in the list of cities above are the only places about whose transport future Mr Thomson seems reasonably optimistic; two of them have fewer than one million inhabitants. (The only city about which he seems utterly pessimistic is Calcutta.)

Two basic points underlie the book. First, that the style and pattern of a city, and its transport system, are interdependent: the ways in which different activities develop and are spatially distributed determine the transport system. Equally, the nature and quality of transport provided will help to determine the structure, style and size of a city. Moreover, transport is not an end in itself; it is only a means, and the end of bringing people and goods to where they need to be. Obviously enough, perhaps, but the corollary is that the aim of good urban planning, including transport planning, should be simply to put people, things and places together as efficiently as possible—which will often mean minimizing the need for travel. The second point—which is the core of Mr Thomson's thesis—is that the root cause of current urban transport problems is a worldwide failure to apply common principles of transport management; the prices of different transport modes do not adequately reflect their costs. (Though Mr Thomson professes impartiality between the various possible strategies which he lists, and accepts that most are too expensive for the poorer countries, his own views seem fairly clearly indicated in the statement that traffic limitation is the "only approach which" "tries to go to the economic root of the problem.")

Unfortunately, the solution is not simply to raise prices to the appropriate level. Political and arguably moral constraints limit the pace at which this can be done. Planners are never starting from scratch; people whose whole pattern of life is based on, say, cheap suburban rail fares can make out an effective case against too sudden disruption.

The strengths of this book are that it looks at urban transport in the context of urban life as a whole, and does so right across national boundaries. Its corresponding weakness is that in doing so it raises more questions than can be dealt with in the space available. At the heart of it are the thirty case studies of different cities. Taken as a whole, these are somewhat indigestible. There is a lot of ultimately unassailable fact and detail, such as the names of different municipal transport undertakings—though it is nice to know of the Istanbul Electric



The problems of modern travel: this cartoon by Seymour was one of the topographical and sporting prints, caricatures and maps offered for sale at Christie's on November 1.

Tramway Tunnel (sic) bus company, commemorating trams now scrapped and a tunnel which has been closed. At the same time, the broader issues of urban form and planning are, inevitably, dealt with rather summarily.

The same is true of some more basic issues of social organization. Mr Thomson notes the crucial importance of governmental structures which will make possible regional planning and effective implementation. He also notes, rightly, that the choice of transport strategy is—because of its distribu-

tional effects—a highly political question. But what is "political"? What relative values are to be attached to the costs and benefits derived from alternative strategies, and how are these values determined and made to stick?

Mr Thomson does not in fact discuss the relationships between governmental structures and political processes on the one hand and transport planning on the other. (Michael Collins and Timothy Plimoth took over 600 pages to do this in a book covering London alone.) But it is, on the face of it,

rather surprising that regimes as heterogeneous politically as those in power in the cities described in this book should preside, whether impotently or benevolently, in not always made clear, over transport problems so similar. (From this point of view it is perhaps a pity that the cities sampled include none in the communist world.)

The book ends with a modest plea for resources for more systematic study of cities as a socio-economic species. There are certainly a lot of questions still to be answered.

The platitudinarian movement

By E. R. Norman

GILES ECCLESTONE and ERIC ELLIOTT:
The Irish Problem and Ourselves
Anglican Comment on Current Affairs
25pp. Church Information Office. 45p.

Where understanding of the affairs of Ireland is concerned, many are called but few are chosen. Into the first category, clearly goes the Church of England's Board for Social Responsibility. In preparation for a full-scale debate on the Irish question in the November session of the General Synod, the Board has commissioned and published this "Anglican comment" on Ulster's difficulties. If the debate belongs to the same genre as the preparatory literature, it will demonstrate once again how ill-served religious institutions are when it comes to help in situations where human aspirations divide politically.

The most obvious thing about *The Irish Problem and Ourselves* is its lack of any distinctively Christian "comment". The authorities cited (with one exception) and the style of ideas approved throughout are instantly recognizable as belonging to the central, bland liberalism which has informed the English and the Ulster intelligentsia during the past decade of vicarious snooping upon Ireland's troubles, and whose conclusions, tested by time, have already proved wrong on about every occasion—most notably over the ludicrous attempt to intrude a "power-sharing" quasi-corporatism upon a democratic people—a solution which the present paper at least avoids.

The Irish have not, in general,

adopted the bogus "consensus politics" favoured by everybody else by the bourgeois liberals. They have, on the contrary, insisted that the political principles for which they are contending really do matter. The result, as in just about every other part of the world where genuine political divisions exist, is disagreeable. But it is what follows when men become what contemporary churchmen are always telling them they should become: activated by principles rather than interests, by ideas rather than inherited instinct (dismissed as "prejudice").

The Irish question, in fact, provides an almost perfect illustration of the need for the church to content itself with defining general principles of Christian conduct and leaving the guidance of political association to those who have the technical capabilities and the local information to know what they are talking about. For it is the authority of God, it is sobering to remember, which invoked when his ministers start giving up political solutions. Two explicit conclusions are offered in the present paper: that the British Government should be pressed to start political talks, and that the church should organize a "symbolic expression of repentance" for past and continuing behaviour by themselves in Ireland. It is surprising that so portentous and moralistic an analysis (and the parade of conceptual "frames") overrules in such trivialities.

What of the authority of God for them? Are we to invoke Jesus of Nazareth standing in the midst of the clergypersons at the Church House gathering in November and saying "Study is indeed necessary to counteract the effect of deeply ingrained prejudice; or 'There can be no progress in the slow task of building a single community to which Catholics and Protestants can give an unqualified allegiance until some progress is made in shaping representative institutions'?" The

sad truth is that a large number of those at that meeting actually will envisage a Christ who utters such ephemeral cant. They are those whose hope is to model themselves not upon the saints and the mystics of the Christian heritage, but upon the "concerned people" referred to in this paper.

The authors' lack of realism is disclosed, above all, in their lament over the "appeal from politics to force", which they see as a characteristic of both Catholic and Protestant extremists. Yet the clearest example of the "appeal from politics to force" is in fact provided by the presence of the British army in Ulster (which is explicitly sanctioned by the authors), and quite right too. Similarly, their caricature of the political disintegration of the 1960s—which they appear to attribute to a failure by the Northern Ireland Government to show "a comparable willingness" to the Republic's in "improving relationships"—is followed by a remark of astonishing naivety: "this is inevitably to over-simplify a complex process".

One of the perils of bringing the church into the heat of day-in-day political analysis is not only the repeated spilling of oil on the clerical faces but the burning off of Christian spirituality. Their judgments are just like everybody else's. It was a pity, from the authors' point of view, that their paper was presumably at the printers when the recent general election of the Republic led to the landslide defeat of the Coalition. Whatever the merits of that administration, it was recognizable as the creation of the intelligentsia and the screen upon which they played out their internal ideological wars. The leading stars, Drs Fitzgerald and Cruise O'Brien, are quoted with approval, and much of the argument in this paper depends upon the same style of politics continuing in the South. Now it has all gone, and the new

government, doubtless just as worthy in its way, breathes a more authentic Irish air. The authors' endorsement of the opinions of yesterday's men looks dated already.

Time has felled another of the Board for Social Responsibility's pinnacles of political wisdom. This was the association, in the paper, of the past British record in Ireland with the need for repentance by the church. Of the record—the "violence enacted by Britain"—there are all the conventional assumptions, wrapped in the traditional guilt-jerking rhetoric.

In view of the long history of injustice visited by Britain upon Ireland, they write, "it may be that real neighbourliness can only be brought about by an explicit and symbolic expression of repentance on our part." But again the authors have been overtaken by events. The Head of the Church herself pulled the strings from beneath them when speaking at the University of Ulster in Coleraine early in August. There is, the Queen rightly said, no place for "old fears and attitudes born of history, no place for blame for what is past".

With that plank of the moralizing platform gone as well, therefore, there is not a great deal left. But there remains the authors' advice to Christians going on holiday to Northern Ireland. They are to convert their holiday into a serious moral purpose, to "regard it as a means of meeting people". And the last offering of all, in the closing "Questions for Discussion", brings the inevitable and extending hint of our very own Ulster problem: "Are there any groups in the community in Britain which experience the same sense of exclusion as that which the Roman Catholics in Northern Ireland complain of?" the authors ask us. Answers should be addressed to the Church of England, whose own record for overcoming social exclusion is well known.

New Books

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In this unique and memorable study based on twelve years of living and working in Nairobi, Andrew Hake traces the city's growth in a little over 70 years from a settlement in the open bush to a city with a population of over half a million. *African Metropolis* is essential reading for urban planners and those concerned with the problems of developing countries. £10.00

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Edited by William Ruddick

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Alan Watson

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A. E. Gunther

In this biography, Mr Gunther has highlighted the many interests in the life of Professor M'Intosh, one of the great naturalists of the nineteenth century and a pioneer of fisheries research. St. Andrews University Publication £5.00

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Storms on the slipway

By John Hewish

GEORGE S. BRUNELSON:
John Scott Russell
A Great Victorian Engineer and Naval Architect
352pp. John Murray. £6.50.

Even by the standards of a less labelled and price-tagged age than ours, John Scott Russell had a remarkably multifarious career. Some of its still unexplained episodes lend interest to this first full-length study. His name gets a substantial entry in the *Who's Who* of the 1850s; it has since become, perhaps undeservedly, little known.

His part in bringing about the Great Exhibition and as one of its commissioners is seldom mentioned. He was the contractor for the trouble-ridden Great Eastern steamship, and his involvement in arms dealing during the American Civil War led to his expulsion from the Council of the Institution of Civil Engineers. He designed the iron rotunda for the 1873 Vienna Exhibition, into which the dome of St. Peter's would comfortably fit.

Russell was the son of a teacher turned Edinburgh minister. He graduated at the age of seventeen—not so very surprising at that period—and at twenty-four occupied a temporary chair of natural philosophy at Edinburgh. He designed the first carriage which ran for a time between Glasgow and Paisley. The forms of ships' hulls had been largely a matter of guesswork and tradition; Russell's papers on hydrodynamics read to the British Association and the Royal Society of Edinburgh in the 1830s made his name. His "wave line" principle, resulting in a slim, slightly concave bow plan, had a wide influence, though its present status is uncertain.

George Emerson gives a behind-the-scenes account, based on Henry Cole's diary in the V and A, of how Russell—now in London—introduced his fellow contributor on the *Railway Chronicle* to the

Society of Arts, to Cole's great advantage but not to his own. In the early 1850s his shipbuilding interests took over; he acquired his own Millwall yard, and built successful mail ships for Brunel.

The heart of Professor Emerson's substantial and well-documented book consists of a reconstruction of the relationships between Brunel, Russell and the Great Eastern, and the Armstrong-Russell case. On the Great Eastern, it is an open challenge to L. C. T. Roll's highly unfavourable account of Russell. He connected to build the giant ship for the Eastern Steam Navigation Co. under Brunel's direction. Costs and delays were such that he became bankrupt. Responsibility devolved to the company and Brunel, but Russell and his staff were re-engaged—there was one else with the necessary experience. Further, the injection of capital was needed. The ship eventually cost about double the original estimate of £500,000. On his deathbed, Brunel heard the news of the explosion on the first sea trial which cost the lives of five of the crew. Roll presents Russell as brilliant, but a thorough-going rogue, who, moreover, attempted to gain the credit for the completion and undoubted technical originality of the ship in the accompanying pamphlet, *War. This was the Brunel view.*

With the authority of a marine engineering background, Emerson argues that the perfectionist Brunel rode his contractor too hard, interfering where the professional shipbuilder should have been left to get on with the job, and was also responsible for fatal misjudgments. He insisted on a controlled launch on metal runners; Russell wanted the traditional free launch on timber. Does Emerson clear his client's name? Not completely. One remembers those other ships, *Russell* was building at the same time. Nor did he exactly strive to keep Brunel's reputation alive, to judge from the title of a contemporary pamphlet, *Scott Russell's Great Ship*, with which he was associated.

The Armstrong gun affair of 1867 is the most striking instance of Russell's association with Brunel. He did not stand in Brunel's way, rather surprising that regimes as heterogeneous politically as those in power in the cities described in this book should preside, whether impotently or benevolently, in not always made clear, over transport problems so similar. (From this point of view it is perhaps a pity that the cities sampled include none in the communist world.)

There was a settlement out of court, but Armstrong accused Russell of unprofessional behaviour before the Institution of Civil Engineers. The Institution and the engineering press were divided. It was argued by Russell's supporters that as a principal, not an agent, he was guilty of no more than insolvency. It was said, and Professor Emerson repeats, that professional jealousy was involved. Much was of course written about extrajudicial courts. Nevertheless the decision by the Council of the Institution that Russell's answer to the charge was unsatisfactory was endorsed at a general meeting.

He continued prominently as founder member in the Institution of Naval Architects; he was involved with the first ironclads, and with train ferries. He wrote and spoke much on technical education. The quality that kept him in demand as a speaker stands out in the otherwise dry pages of technical journals, though his popularization now sometimes looks cloudy and rhapsodical. If he did not quite die in poverty, as Roll states, in 1882, his widow was probably glad of the Civil List pension she received.

This is an engineer's book in both senses, but not exclusively. Russell's daughter, nearly married Arthur Sullivan, the blind of High Victorian social and musical life, the Bydnam villa, and commercial insecurity, confirms the truth of Little Dorrit. Professor Emerson knows the engineering club of the period very well, and shows what can be done using mainly printed and institutional records in reconstructing a nineteenth-century life. If complex events are not always crystal clear in the story, at least the evidence is there in evidence.

On the side of peace

By Owen Chadwick

WOLFGANG HUBER and JOHANNES SCHWARTZDIEGER (Editors):
Kirche zwischen Krieg und Frieden
Studien zur Geschichte des deutschen Protestantismus
627pp. Stuttgart: Klett.

The group of essayists who contributed to *Kirche zwischen Krieg und Frieden* undertook an ambitious programme. They ask whether history offers lessons to the churches in the art of peacemaking. The reader must begin by quashing his suspicion of anyone who tries to offer such a lesson. But the authors are historians who share the same suspicion, and for the most part intend to say what happened and therefore to transmit political lore about the past.

Wilhelm Janssen studies the development of European opinion on the moral issues of war and peace. Martin Schmidt has a judicious article on the patriotic glorification of war in the Romantic poets of the Napoleonic era. There are essays on Schleiermacher's attitudes; on the revolution of 1848; on Protestant attitudes to the Franco-Prussian war and the founding of the Reich; on post-war Protestantism; and three essays on the epoch since 1918.

A few of the writers appear to assume that in all cases the duty of the churches is to work for peace. Others admit, like Archbishop Lang after the rape of Prague in March 1939, or Archbishop Coggan over President Kennedy's assassination, that the churches may under circumstances encourage war provided it is just. Others are uncomfortably aware that in the internal history of states the peacemaker, however blessed in his aim, must inevitably be a man of blood. The authors of the churches may under circumstances encourage war provided it is just. Others are uncomfortably aware that in the internal history of states the peacemaker, however blessed in his aim, must inevitably be a man of blood.

There is an odd omission. Although the essays take their illustrations from German history, and nearly all from modern German history, they avoid the bomb

plot of July 1944, and the ethical issues raised in the attempt by a Christian to murder a man more than one clergyman, to assassinate the head of the German state. But despite this omission several of them are keenly aware of the difficulty raised by internal rivalry, is that it identifies the achievement of violence with the maintenance of the possessor party.

The development of notions of international law in the later Counter-Reformation produced the singular difficulty about a just war, that it is not difficult to conceive situations where both sides have good grounds for claiming that their cause is just. Several of the later schoolmen allowed that one side might be so ignorant of the true facts that it could not be held an aggressor in going to war, but they regarded this situation as a necessary evil. Given that this was too optimistic. The concept of a just war continued to have use in international politics, but sometimes it became a way of satisfying the consciences of belligerents, and ceased to possess what little use it ever had in restraining plunderers.

The concept of a justified revolution moved in a contrary direction. If a king was a tyrant, Reformation and Counter-Reformation admitted that authorized representatives of the republic could remove him; but the difficulty of determining when representatives were authorized was not lifted. The concept of a justified revolution was limited ever more precisely the moral right of a people to revolt, so that during much of the eighteenth century it was hardly visible if applied to legitimate government. The counter-revolutionary revolution was believed to be a worse ill than the maintenance of a less than just government, and therefore revolution could hardly be justified morally. They thought the choice to lie between civil war and anarchy, and the steady rise which in time might be mended without overturning the state, and had no doubt which was the lesser evil.

But if as Rousseau or Mill taught, liberty was a moral good, it made sense to think of the moral duty of the churches to promote liberty. The authors of the churches may under circumstances encourage war provided it is just. Others are uncomfortably aware that in the internal history of states the peacemaker, however blessed in his aim, must inevitably be a man of blood. The authors of the churches may under circumstances encourage war provided it is just. Others are uncomfortably aware that in the internal history of states the peacemaker, however blessed in his aim, must inevitably be a man of blood.

Several of the authors, some with regret and one with indignation, lament the inability of pacifist groups to sway political decisions leading to war, either in 1914 or in 1939-40. They have a little sermon to preach and it is worth preaching first on the danger of identifying the courage and self-sacrifice of the pacifist with the higher Christian ideal, and second on the danger of allowing military success with the prov-

pective. It was observable that (at least in Germany) a demand that government could take a country into war more easily than a democratic government. To get "peace" it became a moral duty to get rid of the *maîtres régimes*. Peace is as much the result of liberty as the result of oppression, and the doctrine was accepted by the International Congress of Geneva in 1866. To secure these great ends clear heads saw that civil war (or, on an international level, aggression by revolutionary armies) was a necessary, and most Christian thinkers still believed civil war or international aggression to be worse than any alternative.

Except among one or two exceptional writers, until the wars of the French Revolution, war was an evil, necessary from time to time because men are fallen, but never less a necessary evil. We hear voices which preach the goodness which war brings to mankind, just when Europeans started to talk about the chance of achieving world peace, some men identified war as a principal cause of human progress. Lenin held war to be the "rejuvenator". Indeed, the "saviour" of a civilized people, and believed that to call a people "better" was only to say that they were more powerful. Schleiermacher said that long periods of decline in morality and religion; and therefore war, "purified" society. Some of these authors represented a mood of secularized religiosity in praise of the courage and self-sacrifice which war demands. These theodemes were not lifted. The power of war to heal the civil divisions of a state, Wilhelm Janssen thinks this panegyric of war to be a psychological offspring of bourgeois fear of class warfare, but he produces no persuasive evidence for the speculation.

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ARTICLES ON WOMEN WRITERS 1960-1975: A BIBLIOGRAPHY

by Naida Lacey Schwartz

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Published December 1977 at £14.75

CLIO PRESS

Woodside House, Hinksey Hill, Oxford OX1 5BE

From the Tigris to the Tweed

By J. B. Ward-Perkins

M. J. FINLEY (Editor):
Atlas of Classical Archaeology
256pp. Chatto and Windus. £8.50.

Although it is nowhere so stated, this appears to be a companion work to the *Atlas of Ancient Archaeology*, edited by Jacques Hawkes (1974). The latter covered the major sites of pre-classical and non-classical antiquity. The present volume ranges chronologically from the ninth century BC to the fall of the Roman Empire, and geographically from Mesopotamia to the Tigris, excluding Achaemenid Persia and Parthia but including Hattusa and that most romantic and archaeologically exciting outlier of Alexander's ephemeral eastern conquests, At Khannu, on the Oxus in northern Afghanistan. The area so covered, comprising the Greek colonial world and corresponding closely to the Roman Empire at its greatest extent, is for convenience subdivided into thirteen geographical sections, each of which is entrusted to a well-known specialist, whose identity the determined reader will eventually run down tucked away on a right-facing page preceding the main title page, an arrangement as irritating to the reader who likes to know at whose feet he is sitting in each section, as it is ungenerous to the authors, who did most of the hard work and are given poor credit for their pains.

Within this broad framework nearly a hundred individual sites are singled out for more detailed presentation, in each case with a historical-geographical commentary, a map or maps, and an assortment of photographic illustration. M. J. Finley contributes a general introduction and, as editor, was presumably responsible for the general plan of the volume and for the final editing of the material submitted by the individual contributors.

A historical atlas of this sort is bound to be selective in its choice of sites and in this instance the criterion for selection is stated to be that of the survival of a substantial number of visible remains of the classical period. In other words the sort of site likely to be visited by the patrons of a Hellenic Cruise or their armchair equivalents, Leptis Magna and Cyrene, yes; Alexandria, no. The application of this criterion is somewhat capricious. Except for its early works, Roman Silchester is today visible only on paper or in air photographs; while of classical Byzantium in Sicily, we are told that nothing of antiquity survives on the ground except parts of the city wall. A balanced view of the classical world should surely have found place for some reference to the Three Gauls, one of the great urban success stories of the Roman

Empire: Aulun, for example, with its city walls, gates, theatre and monumental temple, or even, since excavations of the past thirty years, Lyon.

Africa too, that treasure-house of evocative Roman ruins, comes off very shabbily. No room for Tipasa, Hippo, Utica, Sufetula, Thysdrus, Thuburbo Maius, Mactar; only a token representation (half a caption and a photograph of the theatre) for Sabratha, which is one of the most completely excavated towns of the Roman world; no mention at all of the rich Hellenistic and Roman city of Apollonia in Cyrenaica, an omission which leaves Cyrene itself, a nicely rounded picture of a Roman city, a lonely Hellenic appendage to the Roman cities of Punic Africa.

Only one of the contributors, Robert Cook, has overtly rewritten his brief. By including the classically nameless ninth-century BC settlement of Zagora, situated on a rocky bluff on the west coast of Andros, and the obscure but well excavated archaic village site of Emporio on Chios, not to speak of Sparta (the material remains of which are surely one of the great disappointments of classical antiquity), he has been able to present a nicely rounded picture of a Roman city, a lonely Hellenic appendage to the Roman cities of Punic Africa.

How useful is this photographic

illustration? Jacquetta Hawkes in her volume managed very well without it and was able as a result to include 24 sites instead of the last under 100 of this *Atlas*. A book of this sort is bound to represent a balance between the requirements of the scholars who provide the substance of it and of the publisher who has to present and market the finished product, but in this instance it looks as if the publisher had decided that some pretty pictures would help to sell the dry bones of the *Atlas*, and as a result the scholar has had the worst of the bargain. If there were to be photographs, then Professor Bowersock's contribution offers a model of the sort of thing that is appropriate to an atlas: air photographs of archaeological sites, and of major monuments that also display their topographical setting. But with space at a premium, what possible justification was there for allocating full page to the statue known as the 'Hellenic Youth' from the Magdalenberg, where a good topographical photograph really would have been helpful; as it stands, the plan of this dramatically terraced

site is far from self-explanatory. Two pages to the museum from Chedworth and Woodchester, whole pages to the Apollo of Tegea, the metopes from Selinunte, or to the chance musings of San Vitale. The space could have been so much better used.

One more criticism. A basic requirement of any atlas is that it should be accurate, and although there are no more than the usual crop of misprints in the text (the emperor 'Antonius' thus, the legion 'VV Alaudae', that distinguished French scholar 'Gilbert Charley-Picard'), many of the maps have all too clearly not been seen in their final form by the individual contributors, and only very cursorily, if at all, by the editor. This is inexcusable. It is in these final stages of book production that the silly mistakes creep in, and there are far too many of these. Nothing will persuade this reviewer that Professor Rive's have been corrected, or that the Magdalenberg, where a good topographical photograph really would have been helpful; as it stands, the plan of this dramatically terraced

The wise men of the henges

By A. H. A. Hogg

EUAN W. MACKIE:
Science and Society in Prehistoric Britain
252pp. Elek. £12.50.

For many years neolithic society in Britain has been accepted as essentially tribal, though occasionally organized under a powerful local ruler to build impressive communal structures such as Avebury; but new discoveries have become progressively more difficult to incorporate into this simple pattern. In the provinces of the northern frontiers, where it was in the last resort the army and the legionary fortresses which determined the physical pattern of civilian life, we move eastwards the texture gets thinner. Michael Crawford and Glen Bowersock, who between them have written no more than fifty pages in which to cover the whole of the Hellenistic and Roman world east of the Aegean, have performed miracles of intelligent compression: the cities of Pamphylia and Pisidia crammed into two pages; Tarsus and Hierapolis omitted altogether; no place for one of the miraculously preserved little country towns of northern Syria. But what there is, is good; the text is informative, the maps are beautifully drawn and the quality of the photographic illustration is excellent.

How useful is this photographic

but on Orkney the unique 'village' of Skara Brae, though very different in arrangement, is contemporary with the great henges of Wessex, and shows the same characteristics of a distinctive assemblage of animal bones and of a high proportion of Grooved Ware among the pottery. There are notable stone circles near

The arguments for the extension of this theory over the whole of Britain are attractive but not fully convincing. They depend mainly on the spread of Grooved Ware and on the wide distribution of stone circles and related monuments which are claimed to display the characteristics of astronomy and surveying developed by 'wise men'. This latter argument depends almost entirely on the work of Alexander Thom.

Professor Thom's theories are widely accepted. They cannot be discussed in detail here, but acceptation on some points remains justifiable. Two examples may be mentioned. That the Megalithic Yard of 2.72 feet was in fact used in setting out most of the stone circles has been confirmed independently by Professor Kendall. But Dr Mackie shows that it was not maintained to the extreme accuracy claimed by Professor Thom, and that it was a customary unit found as far apart as ancient Sumeria and medieval Spain. There is thus no need to postulate a learned class concerned

to maintain an accurate standard. The 'wise men' are also credited with knowledge of Pythagorean triangles, deduced by fitting ingenious geometrical constructions to non-circular stone rings; but at Woodhenge, where Professor Thom's superimposed pattern is particularly attractive, the original excavator deduced an equally convincing but completely incompatible system of measurements. Some doubt may therefore be felt as to the validity of this sort of approach. None the less, it does seem inherently likely that stone circles and other settings were erected under the supervision of specialists, who must also at the very least have been capable of establishing a solid observational

The Wessex rheocrats have left ample traces of their ability, but elsewhere the evidence is so scanty that it is impossible to postulate a learned class concerned to maintain an accurate standard. The 'wise men' are also credited with knowledge of Pythagorean triangles, deduced by fitting ingenious geometrical constructions to non-circular stone rings; but at Woodhenge, where Professor Thom's superimposed pattern is particularly attractive, the original excavator deduced an equally convincing but completely incompatible system of measurements. Some doubt may therefore be felt as to the validity of this sort of approach. None the less, it does seem inherently likely that stone circles and other settings were erected under the supervision of specialists, who must also at the very least have been capable of establishing a solid observational

Tapping the heavens

By Alastair Maclean

JOHN MICHELL:
A Little History of Astro-Archaeology: Stages in the Transformation of a Heresy
96pp. Thames and Hudson. £3.50.

The discovery that our forefathers sited their temples and monuments with great care and that they used the heavenly bodies to do so is entirely unremarkable. (It would be truly astonishing, on the other hand, to learn that such buildings had been put up any old how.) Neither is it inherently unlikely that the siting was carried out with considerable mathematical precision nor even—though this is obviously less susceptible of proof—that the erected structures were then used to make further observations with. All this is simply to say that mankind is older and cleverer than one might imagine, a proposition few today would doubt and few of all surely, among orthodox archaeologists.

To build on these reasonable premises, however, an elaborate edifice of theories involving, at their most extreme, the creation of a purposeful network of straight tracks covering much of Europe and the design and construction of a complex and linked series of megalithic astro-

nical observatories, is another matter altogether. The building of such an edifice has become the prerogative and passion of a special group of people. In less pretentious times they called themselves laymen; now they are astro-archaeologists, a designation the John Michell drops at nausum into his account of them, as if by sheer repetition he might attain respectability for the term.

A Little History of Astro-Archaeology centres on Stonehenge and ranges from the Reverend Wm Stukeley, an eighteenth-century theologian, to the latest notion in the field—the idea that it is not new—a notion holding that stone circles are not merely observatories but focuses of palpable power radiating from the heavens. It is a slim volume, uninterestingly written, heavily larded with poor photographs and diagrams so reduced in scale as to be robbed of whatever value they might have had. One wonders for whom it was written. Its natural target would seem to be old-straight-track enthusiasts and the like, but today, I fancy, lack the necessary awe of Watkins's original followers and are likely to be deterred by the hardcover price and the assumption, however unconvincing, of the archaeological establishment on the other hand, will certainly dismiss the book, for the heresy, as far from being transformed as ever

Into the smelting pot

By C. S. Smith

R. F. TYLECOTE:
A History of Metallurgy
182pp. The Metals Society. £10.

The history of technology is among the most recent of specialized branches of historical study to develop, despite the fact that a strong technological component has been involved in the changes in man's environment and means of communication that have preceded most social or cultural changes. The subject of this book, metallurgy, has had contact with practically everything that man has done or thought about for the past six thousand years.

There are records enough on which to base the study of past technologies, but the primary ones are rarely verbal, and few scholars have bothered to learn how to read them. In any case, the full message could not be deciphered until recently when advances in the science of materials made it possible to relate the microstructural details of the objects to the treatment that it had received during its fabrication. Archaeologists have long been able to deduce some of the ceremonial and social aspects of a culture from the external appearance of its artefacts, and they can now gain insight into the movements of a craftsman and, if they wish, re-experience the very sensations that accompanied his interaction with his tools and materials—though not of course his thoughts or emotions. The making of something to answer a social need, whether using traditional or innovative techniques, is an intensely human experience that should be better known by people who call themselves humanists.

The history of metals is, of course, a minuscule part of history, but it tells a lot about man's nature. For example, new materials and new methods of shaping them—the very basis of all industry—have, almost always first appeared in connection with the decorative arts. Aesthetic curiosity, not necessity, was the mother of invention.

Except for some good studies by economic historians of its industrial development, the history of metallurgy has received little attention from professional historians. Research has been done mainly by metallurgists themselves, and with some inevitable lack of perspective. Metallurgical history has been strongly influenced by changes in the nature of the profession itself. For example, the study of 'properties', and processing is the most challenging part of the metallurgist's duties, but until well into the twentieth century the alloying and shaping of metals was done on a small scale by craftsmen and engineers who mainly used what the primary producers saw fit to provide. The formal training of metallurgists prepared them for careers in large industries devoted to the winning of metals from their ores, and those metallurgists who were interested in history saw mainly this aspect. John Percy, the founder of the Royal School of Mines, included many excellent historical sections in his five-volume *Metallurgy* published between 1861 and 1880. In Percy's time new chemical science coexisted with old technical practice: hence his work provides a superb source for this branch of metallurgical history, particularly when supplemented by the large collection of samples illustrative of metallurgical operations that he made, now in the Science Museum in South Kensington. Percy's *Metallurgy* is a masterpiece of the famous *De Re Metallica* by Georgius Agricola contained a good history of metals buried in its footnotes. The slightly earlier *Pirotechnia* of Vannoccio Biringuccio (1550) compared the 1550s to the alloying, casting, and working of metals into beautiful or useful objects but has only recently been noticed by historians.

Chemical and metallurgical history have been intimately associated with each other since the beginning, though until the late nineteenth century they have been more interested in physical alchemy than in the diverse and superbly quantitative separations of the assayer which led directly to a

broader analytical chemistry and the unravelling of the relationship between the elements that had to proceed good chemical theory. As to the physics of solids, so recent and important a component of metal science, this has yet to attract any significant historical attention.

The first move towards a more balanced history of metals rather than of metallurgy came from archaeology and from art. Historically minded chemists studied Egyptian and Sumerian finds—well summarized in J. R. Partington's *Origins and Development of Applied Chemistry* (1935) and A. Lucas's *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (fourth edition, 1962). Two fine little books on iron and copper in the ancient world were written by H. H. Cogan for the Pitt-Rivers Museum. While most art-historians have understandably emphasized meaning, iconography and social influences, with rather little regard to the physical experience of the artist as he manipulated his materials, the conservators in museum laboratories focused on the techniques that were used, and it was hardly necessary to find out the knowledge of how metals were selected and shaped. At first mainly chemical (analytical), both archaeological and art-historical studies have been greatly enriched by use of the laboratory methods of the physical metallurgist (at first called a metallographer) who, late in the last century, showed how an object's microstructure was related to the thermal and mechanical treatment that it had undergone. The results of this kind of study were combined with older studies of the written record and a sense of industry, craft and science into a fine book published in 1962, *History of Metals* by Leslie Aulicson, now unfortunately out of print.

The present book does not have such high aims: like most of its predecessors it is a history of metal, not of metals. Though of larger scope than R. F. Tylecote's earlier *Metallurgy* (1962) and incorporating many new findings pertaining to the development of metal, it does not probe deeply into the precedents, environments and consequences of the operations that are so well described.

The first seven chapters covering the period of the author's main research are excellent. Evidence gained from chemical, petrographic and metallographic studies of objects, slags and furnace remains in many parts of the world permit the reconstruction of a fascinating story. It begins in the mind-millennium ac with a few primitive hammering of small chunks of native copper, and the scale slowly changes after the mid-fifth millennium BC with the discoveries of how to smelt ores and to shape metal both by casting in precast moulds and by mechanical working. Prior to this, makers of lime plaster

and hard-fired decorated ceramic ware had made good use of the profound effects of fire on inorganic substances. The earliest pyrotechnology, and one of greatest portents though not mentioned in this book, was the heating of natural iron oxides to change their colour for decorative use. The first alloy came soon after smelted copper: it was not, as popularly supposed, the copper-tin alloy today called bronze but was a copper-arsenic alloy that has comparable properties and, at least in the Middle East where it all began, greater availability.

Metallurgists found out very early that the addition of certain red earths acted as a flux which greatly facilitates the smelting of siliceous copper ores. Such earths contain iron, and (as first suggested, I believe, by T. E. Wertime) it is probable that non-metallic metallic iron was first encountered as an accidental byproduct of copper or lead smelting. Since it could not be melted, the wide use of iron required the development of hammering and forging methods. Professor Tylecote emphasizes the point that for centuries iron was inferior to bronze for use in tools or weapons, and its initial popularity was based on its availability, on economic factors, more than on its metallic qualities. This changed when methods were developed to make steel by controllably, if unconsciously, introducing carbon by the manipulation of the metal in the fire, but it was not until the late nineteenth century that iron was hardened by heat treatment. Smelting, refining, alloying, forging and heat treatment are intimately interdependent. Their development underlies not only much of material civilization but also much of how philosophers and scientists think about matter and transformation, but it has been scarcely studied by historians because the record is rarely to be found in respectable literary works.

An immense amount of reliable knowledge of the properties and reactions of matter was developed empirically many centuries before there was any theory that could guide development. Particularly in the extraction and refining of metals, which occurred for the most part in minor amounts in the ores of other metals.

The changes in scale of metallurgical operations beginning in the sixteenth century are well treated, especially the smelting side. Both the author and myself belong to the generation of metallurgists whose training enables them to relate the distant predecessors in material science omit most of the details of the work, but it is a pity that the expert that most of us give a student direct sensual contact with the diverse nature of substances and

their reactions. Future historians will inevitably be concerned with recent science and will, calculable relationships, though they will have far better instrumental aids with which to read the material record of the more distant past.

Most early written records smelted more of the scriptorium than of the forge or foundry and are almost useless unless confirmed by technical evidence derived from artefacts; nevertheless, clear instructions on the detailed techniques of painting, glassmaking and metalwork for the embellishment of God's house are given in the *De Diversis Artibus* written early in the twelfth century by the learned monk Theophilus, and after the invention of printing a fair record becomes available. The record for the thirteenth century is perhaps more complete than at any time before or since. Professor Tylecote reproduces some of the engravings of furnaces and machinery from that time. It is interesting that both scientific advance and the documentation of practice were then far richer in France and in Sweden than in England where the greatest changes in iron technology were brewing.

It is, of course, by their uses that metals influence society. The author could have made more of the different ways in which metallurgy spread throughout the world and how it responded to local environments and commercial factors, at least in principle, the properties of metals that man has for so long exploited in things of beauty and utility. Moreover, ceramics now come within the same theoretical framework, which would have extended the natural ones of biology and prehistory and the synthetic ones of today's burgeoning plastics industry. A new profession seems to be developing which embraces both the science and the engineering of all materials.

The publishers have not done justice to the text, either in format or in editorial care. The dates of the deaths of Leonardo da Vinci and René Descartes are given respectively as 1514 and 1600 when the former was actually 1519 and the latter four years old. The bibliography is good. The 150 illustrations are informative, but the half-tones are generally muddy and some of the line-drawings are mere sketches that would be meaningless to an uninitiated reader. Despite these blemishes the book is an intelligent and useful summary of metallurgical technology over the entire span of history and prehistory. It contains many insights and it will convey good background to any historian or layman who wants to understand the past and present role of technology in human affairs.

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